THE

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST *is;* but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is *not*, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry, and surely a trustworthy witness for the point he makes. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are, as I was a year ago, misled by supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community, when it seems no more to be the organ of that body than though such body had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, with others, and find it "first best" of its class. Of all the *solidaire* Socialistic organs, it stands without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Old subscribers express enthusiastic appreciation of the paper, whenever they say any thing of its character; but it is evident that the hard times are bearing so heavily on the tax-burdened people, that they find it difficult to spare a dollar or two for a paper they really prize. Now and then an able-bodied man writes sending a dollar and apologizing for not sending two to pay for a full year, by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks! Others, yet worse off, ask us to give them a month or two more in which to prepare for a similar payment. Such letters touch us in a tender spot, and we shall do what we can, without actually entering on the credit system, to help bridge over present poverty. In a few instances wealthy readers of the SOCIALIST have sent five dollars or more to pay for the new volume, the amount in excess of two dollars being intended as a gift to us. Such cases are rare, but they suggest a method whereby the real spirit of Communism might act so as to relieve poor people and at the same time extend the circulation of our paper, notwithstanding the hard times. Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription, and who is interested in our cause, send the dollar to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would like the SOCIALIST sent, *and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume.* That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack. There are plenty of men who can spare a dollar for such a cause as this, if they can but be appealed to. The success of any such plan depends on the earnestness with which our readers themselves will advocate and make it known.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

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CAUSES OF SOCIALISM.

In Germany one-tenth of the voting population are Socialists, and have twelve representatives in the national legislature.

In Russia Socialists are more numerous, bold and powerful than ever before, and threaten (not seriously perhaps) the stability of the imperial government.

In England the struggle between capital and labor has within the last few weeks thrown more than one hundred thousand workmen out of employment, and in Lancashire terrible scenes of violence are enacting.

In our own country a Socialistic party is forming and growing with unexampled rapidity. Thus early it has carried important elections, and the government of States may ere many years be under its control.

These are facts that all men read and interpret as evidences of the progress of Socialistic principles; but respecting their antecedent causes there is a wide divergence of view. Those more immediately concerned in the spread of the principles doubtless conceive that the present arrangement of Society is founded in injustice, and that they are assisting in the good work of laying better social foundations and at the same time improving their own circumstances and prospects in life.

On the other hand, those whose circumstances lead them to regard with complacency and approval the existing arrangement of society, are ready to assume that no good can result from Socialistic agitation, and that Socialism itself is an abnormal development—a diseased growth—a plague upon the body social.

Investigation should begin at this point. If Socialism be a diseased, abnormal growth, then it is legitimate for the representatives of society as it is to seek its removal by all the curatives in its pharmacopæia, including the surgeon's knife; but if it be a natural growth, then wisdom requires that it should be aided and directed and its power utilized.

Here is a stream moving along with increasing velocity and momentum, widening and deepening as it flows. You may obstruct its course for the moment, but it soon rises above all impediments or sweeps them out of its way. Advantage may be taken of it to grind our wheat, saw our lumber, turn our spindles, and do ten thousand useful things; but it will be stopped in its course never, unless its sources are discovered and dried up.

But what are the sources—the hidden springs—which have fed the streams of Socialism for these thousands of years? Nordhoff says the main cause of Socialism is the discontent of the common people with "the unbearableness of the circumstances in which they find themselves." We should modify this by saying the main cause of Socialism is that element, innate in human nature, which impels man to seek the improvement of his environment, and keeps him in a state of discontent with his present attainments and circumstances. This aspiration and this discontent are operative in full force after men's circumstances have ceased to be "unbearable," as well as before, and are constantly-acting agencies in the evolution of humanity from its lowest to its highest condition.

Another "main cause" of Socialism is the innate love of justice in human nature, which is constantly offended by the social relations which prevail in civilized society, though their more barbarous forms have disappeared. Deep down in the heart of every human being is the conviction that justice requires that men shall be esteemed and rewarded according to their worth and works, and that many of the distinctions which now obtain are shams and falsities.

All the higher and nobler instincts point in the same direction—to the same goal—and proclaim the universal brotherhood of man.

Religion is ever preaching the millenium of peace, unity, love; and these can only be realized, as saints and sinners alike know, in "a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed," which is the condition of things Webster defines as Socialism, and the condition of things which all Socialists are striving, intelligently or otherwise, to realize.

Of course, less worthy elements—many small, turbid streams—contribute to swell the current of Socialism; but these, we maintain, are accessory streams only, and that the primal sources must be annihilated before Socialism can be permanently suppressed. Who will undertake this task? As well might one undertake to annihilate the sources of the Mississippi or the Amazon. The Aspiration for Improvement, Love of Justice, the Sentiment of Brotherhood, Religion: these are perennial springs in human nature that will flow forever, and as they flow will quicken every-where the germs of Socialism.

Every body can see that Socialism is asserting itself in all the civilized nations, and that its power is augmenting, and that no means of repression or suppression yet discovered have prevailed against it for any considerable length of time: why not, then, accept it as a fact, study it, seek to modify and utilize it? To condemn it—to call it a plague and a demon—will avail nothing. It is here, and here it will remain; and the world, including those whose interests are most endangered by its presence, must make the best of it; and this they will do when they study its causes and character, and allow it to modify existing institutions in the interests of Humanity, Justice and the Progressive Evolution of Society.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES BY E. T. CRAIG.

XXXVI.

In estimating the condition of the members at Ralahine it was very evident to all visitors that there was a vast improvement in the relations of the people with each other, and with their obligations as industrial producers. There was great freedom and independence, as there was no despotic Steward to domineer and browbeat them. No man was "Master;" none were treated as servants or slaves, to carry out the behests of an imperious task-master. All were on an equality in relation to the Committee, whom they had appointed or elected for the purpose of directing the practical working details. Each and all were mutual helpers for the benefit of all.

But although there was this inestimable privilege of each being master of himself, as sovereign of his own individualism, it is necessary to observe that for the mutual advantage of each and all, order, system and arrangement were necessary for the success and economy of the practical, working operations of the Community. To give to the members their due influence, plans were adopted calculated for enabling all the members to exercise their legitimate influence over the operations of the Community and the arrangements of the Committee, who met every evening to appoint the members, when necessary, to their required duties on the following day.

Each member had a number engraved on a ruled slate opposite which the special work was stated. The book slate was on view in the public hall, so that all could learn, without any harsh or austere command, the special instructions of the Committee, who appointed themselves on the same plan. If a member decided on being absent, which was rarely the case, the fact was indicated by omitting the registry of work, on the

DAILY LABOR SHEET.

The appointments of the Committee were copied on a large sheet, ruled so as to show the work done during a week, and to indicate whether executed on the "Farm," for the "Family," or for "Improvements." The Daily Labor Sheet was exhibited during the following week on the wall of the lecture hall, so that every member could see how far the Committee were judicious in their regulations. As the plan of the Daily Labor Sheet was useful, it may be suggestive to those who desire to adopt the preparatory arrangements necessary to secure order, practical prudence and security in the incipient stages of a new Community. I give an illus-

tration of a portion of the Sheet, with an abstract of the expenditure during the same period:

Daily Labor Sheet, from Monday the 9th to Saturday the 14th day of January, 1832.

No. of Members.	Name.	Monday 9th. Farm.	Family.	Improvements.	Weather dry. Employment.	Tuesday 10th. Farm.	Family.	Improvements.	Cold and wet. Employment.	Rate paid each	Days at Farm.	Days at Family.	Days at Improvements.	Cost weekly per Farm. £ s. d.	Family. £ s. d.	Improvements. £ s. d.	Total. £ s. d.
1	T. Carmody,	1			Plowing,	1			Carting manure,	10	6			0 5 0			0 5 0
2	J. Davine,	1			Steaming potatoes,	1			Steaming potatoes,	8	6			0 4 0			0 4 0
3	Anne Davine,		1		Dormitories,			1	Dormitories,	8		6			0 2 6		0 2 6
4	T. Enright,			1	Cottage wall,			1	Cottage wall,	8			6			0 4 0	0 4 0
5	C. E.				Washing,				Washing,	5		6			0 2 6		0 2 6
6	P. F.				Herding,				Herding,	8			6			0 4 0	0 4 0
7	W. F.	1			Carting turnips,	1			Trenching wheat,	8			6			0 4 0	0 4 0
8	G. M.	1			Trenching,	1			Trenching,	8			6			0 4 0	0 4 0
*	*	*															
*	*	*															
50	T. W.	1			Trenching,	1			Trenching,	8	6			0 4 4			0 4 0
														Farm.....	7 4 2	0 15 8	2 4 4	10 4 2
														Family.....	0 15 8	2 4 4		
														Improvements,.....	2 4 4			
															£10 4 2			

ABSTRACT OF LABOR SHEET.

For Week ending Saturday, January 14th, 1832.

FARM EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Carting out and mixing compost manure,	1	1	6			
Ploughing in Granahan and Calf-field,	0	13	4			
Washing and steaming potatoes,	0	6	0			
Thrashing and preparing wheat for market,	0	18	0			
Conveying wheat to Limerick,	0	10	8			
Pulling and drawing in turnips,	0	8	0			
Trenching in wheat,	0	9	0			
Attending and foddering cattle,	0	16	0			
Carpenter's labor on farm,	0	7	4			
Smith's ditto,	0	4	8			
Herding stock,	0	5	0			
Dairy,	0	5	0			
Manufacturing wool into freize,	0	3	2			
Poultry,	0	2	6			
Sundries to farm	0	2	0			
Attending and feeding pigs,	0	4	0			
Superintendence, education, and accounts,	0	8	0			
				7	4	2

FAMILY EXPENDITURE.

Attending dining-rooms,	0	2	6			
Steaming potatoes and other vegetables for family,	0	2	0			
Attendance on dormitories,	0	1	8			
Sewing and repairing beds,	0	0	10			
Washing clothes,	0	5	0			
Infant schoolmistress,	0	2	6			
Sundries to family,	0	1	2			
				0	15	8

IMPROVEMENTS EXPENDITURE.

Carpenter's labor,	0	10	8			
Smith's ditto,	0	6	0			
Attending slater,	0	2	0			
Storekeepers,	0	16	0			
Clerk of accounts,	0	6	8			
				2	4	4
Total cost for labor of 50 members for one week,				£10	4	2

E. T. CRAIG, Secretary.

WEEKLY EXPENDITURE OF MEMBERS.

By reference to the ledger accounts for this period, it appears that the consumption of produce, etc., during the week ending Jan. 14, for the entire Community, of fifty adults and seventeen children, was as follows:

Milk, 202 qts.,	0	16	10
Potatoes, Vegetables and Fruit,	2	0	6
Butter,* 13¾ lbs.,	0	9	2
Mutton, 9½ lbs.,	0	3	2
Eggs, 32 lbs.,	0	0	8
Fuel for married members,	0	0	7½
Lodgings for single, and Rent of houses of married members,	0	10	0
	£4	0	11½
Balance left with members for clothes, savings, etc.,	6	3	2½
	£10	4	2

The members received these balances in Labor Notes. The payments for the work done amounted to £10 4s. 2d.; but owing to the great economy and superiority of the associative arrangements over the isolated, individual, and wasteful competitive system of society, the Community had a market on the spot for a considerable portion of their own produce, and thus returned nearly one-half of their drafts on account of labor, and which were on the same scale as wages in the neighborhood. The balance in the hands of the members, to be saved or used at their discretion, was an important consideration when they had still the prospect of an increment in the profits arising after paying the landlord the amount of produce as rent and interest for the use of his capital.

* A large portion of butter was sold to the proprietor's own household, the Society receiving an equivalent.

The plan was exceedingly simple and safe, yet practical, and, when contrasted with the conditions which prevail, affords very great advantages in the economy of time, labor and money over the present wasteful methods of distribution, improvidence and social antagonisms. The vast waste of time in the carriage of articles of consumption, in contrast with social arrangements of enlarged homes in the centers of fertile lands for the production of agricultural produce, is a great loss of labor and waste of human life. Its utter improvidence would be ridiculous if it were not so serious and the result of ignorance. The present modes of distribution are at variance with the simplest and most palpable rules of economy, as well as the source of a vast amount of misapplied toil, waste of capital and social wrong, tyranny and injustice.

Mr. John Finch, in his letters detailing the results of his visits to Ralahine, makes the following

COMPARISON OF RALAHINE LABORERS WITH OTHERS EARNING THE SAME NOMINAL WAGES.

England's curse and Ireland's bane, *intoxicating drinks*, formed no part of the diet at Ralahine; it consisted principally of an unlimited supply of new milk and a great abundance and great variety of vegetable food of their own growing, of the best quality, and in great perfection; and no men or women, in England or Ireland, that I have seen, lived cheaper, labored harder, or looked better than they did. And let those who find fault with the milk and vegetable diet of Ralahine reflect that "no human being has any natural right to require another to do that for him or her that he or she would refuse to do for that individual;" *and therefore, in a rational state of society, all those who will eat beef, mutton, veal, and pork, must in turn kill the animals for themselves.*

The following is an account of the provisions delivered to the society, consisting of 81 persons, men, women, and children, for their consumption, in the week ending 6th October, 1833, being more than an average of their weekly expenditure:—

446 Quarts of new milk at 1d.	£1	17	2	Averaging less than 1s. 7d. per week each.
Potatoes and other vegetables,	2	13	6	
Butter, 12s. 1d.; pork, 19s. 7½d.	1	11	8½	
Cottage rent, 4s. 3d.; turf for fuel, 9d.	0	5	0	
Food and lodging for 81 persons,	£6	7	4½	

Let the condition of the inmates of Ralahine now be compared, as it ought to be, with the condition of laborers whose earnings are the same. The hand-loom cotton-weavers earning in 1833 by hard labor from 2s. to 5s. per week; the Staffordshire nailers earning from 4s. to 10s.; the agricultural laborers in the south and east, and some other parts of England, with their 6s. to 9s. per week; the laborers in the north and east of Ireland, badly employed, and working for from 8d. to 1s. per day: but more particularly *compare their condition with the wretched peasantry in the south of Ireland, (where this experiment was made)*, without any employment at all for months in winter, whose average earnings throughout the year will not amount to 6d. per day, and this for the support not of the individual only, but of a large family—his wife and children having no other employment than attending to a little plot of potato ground and begging—their only food a scanty supply of potatoes, and those frequently of bad quality—the whole family covered with filth and clothed with rags—all herding and sleeping in the same apartment (upon a bit of dirty straw) with pigs, ducks, poultry, dogs, goats, cows and asses, on an earth floor, covered with mire and manure of every description—the apartment a miserable mud cabin, roofed with thatch or sods, often without window or chimney, and nine times out of ten with a dung heap before the door—no bed, no furniture, scarcely any utensil save a cast-iron pot, in which the potatoes are boiled for the family dinner, and in which afterward the surplus and refuse are served up to the grunters. Let them compare the condition of these unfortunate individuals with that of members of this society, and remember that Ralahine was only the *first step* from such a state as this; they will then be able to form a just estimate of its value.

WEEKLY MEETINGS OF MEMBERS.

At the weekly meetings of the Community the minutes of the Committee and their notes in the Suggestion Book were discussed. The appointments as recorded on the Labor Sheet were criticised. It was objected that too much labor was sometimes directed to improvements instead of to the farm. Once or twice the conduct of members became subject to discussion. The meetings and friendly criticisms had an educational influence over the whole of the members. Mr. Finch records the fact that what he calls a trial happened while he was on his visit of inspection. He states the affair thus:—

"No litigation either before a lawyer or magistrate was allowed: all disputes were settled by arbitration among themselves. A passionate man called another a bad name, which led to a quarrel, a trial for which happened while I was there. This gave me an opportunity of witnessing a meeting of the Ralahine Parliament. Twenty-nine adult males and seventeen females were assembled on this occasion, and the case was entered into, discussed with all due seriousness, and ended in a caution to the offenders against a repetition of such conduct."

These meetings had the happy advantage of interesting the whole of the members in the proceedings of the Committee and in the success of the Community.

COMMUNISM.

II.

BY A RELIGIOUS COMMUNIST.

Now let us look at the *conditions* of Communism.

It is generally acknowledged that the conditions requisite for liberty are *education* and *religious principle.* We do not expect any nation to be able to sustain republican institutions unless it has the fear of God and free schools. And with these conditions, we suppose that any nation may enjoy the liberty of republicanism.

Now, corresponding to these two conditions, the prerequisites of Communism are simply a *higher* state of religious experience and of education; that is, *salvation from sin* and *inspiration.*

Salvation from sin is the abolishment of selfishness. Now all the arguments against Communism are based on the assumption that it is proposed to undertake it with material in the present state of selfishness. They say Communism can not be established, because men are selfish. But the question remains, Is it necessary that men should be selfish? Is there no way to *abolish* selfishness? If there is not, Communism is estopped. But it is at least supposable that Jesus Christ, who expressly said that he came into the world to save people from sin, has in store grace and wisdom by which selfishness can be abolished. We have not yet fathomed the unsearchable riches of his grace. The world, with all its light, is bound yet to be modest in its pretensions to knowledge of the Bible and of true religion; and if it is supposable that salvation from sin is a proposal of the gospel of Christ yet to be discovered and realized, then the most essential condition of Communism may yet be seen in the world.

The other condition of Communism, we have said, is an advanced state of education, or *inspiration.* Well, the signs of the times are clearly pointing to the universal recognition of inspiration as the gift of the present age to the world. Who does not believe that the great world-leaders are more or less inspired? The invisible world is certainly pressing upon us in various ways. And who knows but the same spirit that was in Jesus Christ and the apostles will yet come upon all flesh, so that "our young men shall see visions, and our old men dream dreams, and our sons and daughters prophesy," and inspiration be a universal blessing?

With these two conditions—salvation from sin and inspiration—which are in fact only advanced stages of religious principle and education, mankind will be prepared for something better than liberty. Your common schools and your lower forms of religious experience are sufficient for the establishment of republicanism. But is it not rational to suppose, that with the great advance in education and religion that we contemplate, mankind will be prepared for something higher than mere republicanism?

What is the higher state that must come for the final liberation of mankind? We answer, It is the state of heaven—the spirit and principle of the day of Pentecost; that is, COMMUNISM. We do not ask mankind to believe in the possibility of Communism in a state of selfishness. But we do ask them to believe in the possibility of a higher form of civilization—a more perfect work of the grace of God in men's hearts than they have yet experienced, abolishing selfishness; and a more perfect education, by the reception of inspiration. Then on that basis, with the hope of such conditions, we ask them to believe in the possibility of Communism, and to aspire to it. We ask them at least not to be illiberal toward those who are seeking this state and who believe in its possibility. It would be ungenerous and absurd for the Spanish or the Irish people to try to level the Americans down to their impotency and to batter us with arguments to prove that we can not possibly maintain republican institutions, because they have found it impossible. Every true-hearted Spaniard or Irishman will say to the American nation, "Go on. Whether we are able to maintain republican institutions or not, we are glad to see that there is a people who can; and we know that their advance will help us." So we ask the world not to judge all by the general condition, but to encourage those who are pressing forward in improvement to go on. If the world is ever to advance beyond liberty to Communism, there must be a beginning somewhere; and probably at first it will commence with a few.

We believe the people of this country are really much nearer a preparation for this new step in civilization than is generally imagined. It is evident that the expansion of liberty in its present form of individualism, and in its present stage of religion and education, has reached its maturity with a large class in this country;

and hence, that if progress is to go on, what we have pointed out is the next step before them. There will be no further possibility of going forward without accepting that for which they have prayed—the will of God done on earth as it is in heaven.

The progress of mankind in social and political elevation may be clearly divided into four distinct stages—Despotism, Constitutionalism, Republicanism, and Communism. The first three are now exhibited in different parts of the world; the fourth, on a great scale, is yet to come. Russia, in the East, clings to the despotic, absolute principle. The other parts of Europe have advanced so far as to demand Constitutional governments, and some are experimenting in Republicanism. In this country Republicanism is fully established; and many persons think that we have thereby reached the highest point of development. But surely there is another stage before us.

FOURIERANA.

Selections from the Harbinger, Phalanx and other Publications of the Fourier Epoch.

XIII.

HAS IT COME TO THIS?

Those were brilliant days, the days of the old feudalism. They come back to our minds in all the splendor with which poetry decks out a youthful and romantic world. When we think of them we think of ready-hearted and strong-handed men, lavish and capacious natures, not paled by too much profitless thinking or exhausted and dwarfed in the tread-mill of petty cares and mean anxieties; we think of knightly honor, of truth unsullied, of chivalrous devotion to woman, and of an enthusiastic spirit of adventure which let nothing grow stale or lifeless. Even over battle and plundering this glow is cast; tyrants and robbers were not without these golden threads which run through the whole period, and give fascination to its history in spite of all the verdicts of reason. There is a reality in those illusions; the heart always feels that they are truer to itself than the unimaginative facts of civilized routine, always knows that they are prophetic of a freshness, an ideality, a romance if you will, which shall yet give a perpetual youth to life, and find no contradiction in any sphere of society.

And those features of the feudal system for which a just judgment has no apology were still not without mitigating characteristics. If the masses were slaves, serfs, the instruments of the lord's will, he on the other hand was their father and protector. They shared his dangers and contributed to his fame; he disciplined their youth and provided for their old age. There was a real tie between them. They were not hirelings to be flung aside when the occasion for their aid was over, but members of his family, between whose fathers and his there had been long series of services and obligations. Grant that there was little thought of Humanity, small sense of justice, every-where the dominion of the strong arm tempered at the best by a rude idea of honor, admit all the charges that can be brought against those times, and still we say that they are not utterly condemned.

* * * *

If we have abolished slavery and serfdom, if the laborer of to-day can fancy that he is a free man because he has equal rights before the law with other men, have we not devoted him to the tender mercies of free competition, flung him, without defense, into the jaws of industrial anarchy? Yes, we have made him an independent being, we have emancipated serfs and freed slaves; we have given them rights, we have preached to them political equality, but to what end? Why, to the end that the permanence in their condition which relieved its darkness might be destroyed, and that they might in fact be slaves and serfs as before, without responsibility on the part of the masters for whom their strength is given, to care for them when they have no longer strength to give. The feudal retainer knew that his lot was a permanent one; to him the prosperity of his lord was abundance; when he was sick, was old, was defenseless, he was provided for. But modern feudal lords owe no such obligations to their retainers. There is no vital bond between them. The prosperity of the master brings no abundance to the board of the laborer; for his sickness and his old age the master is bound to furnish no assistance, no protection. The strength and skill of men are now marketable commodities to be bought at the lowest price, and when they are consumed the men may be flung away as useless instruments. They are free indeed! they are not compelled thus to sell themselves, but if they do not they may starve! And, faithful to this infernal perfection of selfishness, our modern feudalism gives them for the expenditure of this, their all, but just enough to keep them from starvation, and by an admirable system of equilibrium preserves only so many of them in existence as are needed to supply its wants! Such is the difference between the military and the financial feudalism; which seems the better in the comparison?

The manner in which this system has sprung up and obtained a foothold is remarkable. It has been unsuspected yet irresistible. It has forced its way in the midst of political movements of all kinds. Monarchical jealousy and republican turbulence have been the same to it; political tyranny and political freedom have alike been made to serve its ends. * * *

The record of those inflictions which the modern system of labor makes on the working-classes in Europe has been set down by more eloquent pens than ours. But here in America, it is urged, these things are not to occur, at least not for an indefinite term of time. Here is liberty, here is education for the people, here is a wide expanse of virgin territory open to every hand, and it will be centuries, we are told, before that concentration of the population which exists in Europe can be found amongst us, or that poverty, subserviency, and oppression of the working-classes. This is nothing but empty speculation; there are as shocking instances of destitution and the wrongs that accompany it, in the city of New York as in London. * * * *

It is in vain to gloss over the matter. It *has come to this*, that the Moneyed Feudalism, which in the old world grinds out the very life of men, stupefies their souls, and ruins their bodies, so that *their families become extinct in three generations*, is laying its unrelaxing hand upon our own brothers. Talk of free trade and of protection! each has its advantages, each is, in its time, an element of human progress; but what shall we say of this monstrous Feudalism, which thrives and grows with equal vigor under both? What shall we say of Competition in Labor, of the universal Hostility of Interests, on which this accursed system is based? Shall it last forever? Shall it have possession of our country also, and of the whole world? Shall every workingman become a mere dependent, a hireling retainer, with such a pittance only for the hardest toil as will barely save him and his from death by starving? In Heaven's name, let us arrest the course of things before it comes to *that;* let us save ourselves from the complete dominion of Money. There is one way to do it, THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR BY THE PEOPLE on the principle of Combined Interests and Mutual Guarantees. It was the formation of the Free Towns that destroyed the Old Feudalism; shall not the same thing in another form put an end to the New?—*C. A. Dana.*

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING.

From the Address of the Bishop of Manchester at the Coöperative Congress.

A gentleman one day casually said to me, "Have you heard of the Coöperative farm at Assington?" I had not heard of it then, and I don't think many others had at that time, so I said, "No." He said, "Go and see it;" and though it lay rather out of the way I had marked out, or rather had been marked out for me, I went one day in the autumn of 1867 to see this enterprise that had been at work for 37 years. Lord Ripon was under a mistake when he said it began in 1852; it began in 1830, 14 years before the Equitable Pioneers in Rochdale; and I should think it is the oldest Coöperative institution in the country. (Hear, hear.) It was started by the Squire of the village, John Gurdon, and at the time I saw it was flourishing without the slightest patronage, and was standing solidly upon the basis of a well-organized industrial speculation. (Applause.) In the year 1830, Mr. Gurdon, I know not under what influence, whether it generated in his own mind or not I can not say, but the idea occurred to him that he would like to let some of his land to a body of workingmen who would farm it on the principle of Coöperation. Lord Ripon said there were 457 members, but I think there must be some mistake in that matter. In the year 1867 the population of Assington was 700, and the number of coöperators was 56. There were two farms, one of 130 acres and the other of 112 acres. There were 20 coöperators—they began with 15—on the smaller farm, and 36 on the larger farm, and I don't imagine that those numbers have increased since that time. The small farm was commenced by 15 men of the agricultural laboring class—a class that you will allow me to say is, I think, very unjustly depreciated in this country—(applause)—a class by no means wanting in intelligence, a class not wanting in any of those qualities that go to make a man. (Renewed applause.) The agricultural laborer is a man of few words, but a man of a good many thoughts. (Hear, hear.) He uses his words with a good deal of precision and a remarkable amount of accuracy, and when you remember what a first-class agricultural laborer can do, for it is not very easy to drive a plow spade across a field, or make a good hedge, or lay a good ditch; it is not very easy to thatch a cottage as you see them thatched in the Eastern Counties—(hear, hear); and it is not easy to know the habits and to treat and look after some half-dozen domestic animals, to cultivate the farm, and look after his allotment, perhaps, as well, and know how the different vegetables and cereals are treated; so that you may depend upon it that the agricultural laborer is not the fool you take him to be. * * * Fifteen of these men combined and undertook to take sixty acres of land at the usual rent. There was no favor shown in respect to rent; they paid 36s. per acre per annum, the landlord paying the rates, the tithes, and the taxes. £45 was a very small capital to start a farm of sixty acres. I think the ordinary calculation is that the capital a farmer ought to bring into his business is about £10 per acre, and these men could barely raise £1 per acre. But the landlord, wishing to give the experiment a fair chance, trusted them with a loan of £400, for which they were to pay no interest for a certain time, and which they were to repay by installments. They started with £450 of capital in 1830, and when I found them in 1867 they had paid off the whole loan of £400; they had increased their shareholders from 15 to 20; they had increased their take of land from 60 acres to 130, and they then paid £200 a year for rent, and the rates and the taxes. Two hundred pounds for 130 acres of land would satisfy, I think, any landlord; at any rate it would be about the average rent of land in the same neighborhood. The farm was managed by a committee of four members, chosen by ballot, a certain number going out every year, so that every coöperator had the power of supervision of the management, and of course he was perfectly competent to say whether the land was being well farmed or not. I don't profess to be a perfectly competent judge of agricultural matters, though I know something about them, having lived the best part of my life in agricultural parishes; but all I can say is that I went over the land, and it seemed to be perfectly clean, in perfectly good heart, and well farmed; and the manager, Mr. Grissel, whom I recollect with great pleasure as a man of special intelligence, was at that time receiving 14s. a week—13s. being the ordinary rate. (A laugh.) Things are better now, and I hope Mr. Grissel has shared the advantage of the better state of things. No doubt the low rate of remuneration would not satisfy Lord Ripon, for I noticed that in his speech yesterday one thing he dwelt on was adequate remuneration for managers. (Laughter.) However, the low remuneration did not prevent the farm being well cared for, as was evidenced by the fact that they paid off the loan of £400. They had a certain number of horses, cows, sheep, and pigs, the land was laid out into the four-course system of husbandry, and I think was thoroughly well managed in every respect. The experiment was so successful that in 1854, Mr. Gurdon, after 24 years' experience of the smaller enterprise, determined to start a second coöperative farm. He got in that case 30 members to contribute £3. 10s. a piece, and started them with a loan, not bearing interest, of £400. They began with 70 acres, and in 1867 they had increased their take of land to 212 acres, and were paying a rent of £325, and the stock was valued at £1,200. They had had a hard fight up to that time; they had not paid anything in the shape of dividend; what was paid was simply in kind. They had had to repay this loan, and the state in which I found them, after 13 years of work, was that every thing on the farm was their own; they were clear of debt; the stock was considered to be worth £1,200, and the shares would sell for £30 apiece in the market; so that I think you will see the experiment had not been an unsuccessful one. I don't think these facts were generally known in the country; I reported upon them strongly in my report to the commissioners, and I believe that report found its way into various organs of public opinion, as they are called, and perhaps for sometime excited a little attention; but even yet I don't think the public mind has awakened to the infinite service of creating a class that I think very much needs to be created as a sort of intermediate link in our huge social disseverments. I think a class of coöperative agriculturists would be a most important and stable element in the commonwealth. (Hear.) In the first place, none of the coöperators were paupers; not one of them came on the rates of the parish; as long as they had a share on these farms not one of them could come on the rates.

THE IRISH COTTIER.

All things work together for good to the land-owners, the smallest things as well as the greatest. From the evidence given in a case now pending at Dublin, it seems that the only *raison d'être* of the poor Irish cottier is still to add to the wealth of men who reap where they have not sown, and gather where they have not strewed. A day or two ago several cottier witnesses were examined, most of whom had spent the best part of their lives in reclaiming obstinate and barren land from the waste, land which no large farmer would care to look at, and their only reward is to have their rents doubled and quadrupled. One old man, Patrick Kearney, had 11 acres of mountain land, which he and his father had reclaimed from the waste, both of them being half starved. For his life of useful labor this man's reward is

that he lives entirely on Indian meal and potatoes and has had his rent raised from 16s. 6d. to £3 3s. 6d. Another man with a similar holding had his rent recently raised from £3 7s. 6d. to £6 15s., and had to pawn his frieze coat to pay it. A third had been working on land which had been entirely reclaimed by his family since he was nine years of age. He had brought land into cultivation which the former proprietor of the estate had given up in despair. His reward was that his rent was raised from £2 11s. 6d. to £6 1s. 6d. A fourth witness, who with his father had entirely reclaimed a piece of wild mountain land covered with stones and heather, and on which the landowner had never spent a penny, had his rent raised from £3 8s. 8d. to £9. The President of the Cork Farmer's Club gave evidence as to the wretched condition of these people. He said that the house of one of the witnesses had water oozing down the walls through the bad thatch; in another, the rain came in through twenty places, and these were but specimens of the rest. One house he described as unfit to put a beast in—rain dropping down every-where, holes in the roof, the floor nothing but mud, sticks propping up the roof in all directions. In another house, where the father of the family lay ill of pleurisy, there were at least a dozen holes in the roof, and as many pools of water on the floor. In another house, as soon as he entered he stepped into a pool of water, and the people had actually made a dam across inside to prevent the water from extinguishing the fire. Such are the conditions of life among not a few Irish cottiers even to-day. When the rights of property are pushed to such an extreme as to wring the last penny from men who alone have made it possible for the land to produce any thing, it is not suprising that the Irish tenants ask for additional legislation. Mr. Butt's Land Bill may be regarded in England as an extreme measure, but that gentleman has obtained powerful arguments from the peasant witnesses in the Michelstown cases.

—*English Paper.*

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1878.

Mr. Smart wishes us to correct his figures in his last article on "The Era of Social Democracy." The fifty sub-districts he therein describes would each contain a population of 20,000 instead of 2,000.

We allow the writer of the Articles on the *Cerebrum Abdominale* to take her own way in quoting our old utterances and experiences, because it is well that the readers of this paper should know what kind of a Socialist its editor is and how he came to be so.

The objects of the English Coöperators were thus succinctly stated by Dr. John Watts at the Manchester Congress: "The immense disparity between the lives of the poor and those of the middle and upper classes certainly demanded the serious attention of all those who believed that of one flesh God has made all the nations of man to dwell upon the face of the earth. They wanted to improve the position of men with regard to health and length of life; they wanted to increase their enjoyments, to develop their mental along with their physical faculties, and the arrangements necessary to effect all these reforms they believed they possessed in what was termed coöperation. And they proposed to do these things, not in the ordinary fashion of charity. The great towns swarmed with charitable societies for the benefit of the poor, but coöperators wanted to raise a soul in the people to enable them to do for themselves all that was requisite."

Railroad officials on the great trunk lines report that there has been, for some months past, an unusual tide of emigration from the Eastern and Middle States to those Western States in which there is still some good government land to be preëmpted under the Homestead Act. The hard times of the past year have, by depressing all branches of trade, compelled the closing of many mills, shops and mines, thus throwing out of employment large numbers of industrious and sober workers. This depression has continued so long that thousands of men are taking their families to the western frontier, where they can raise their own food by tilling the soil. Then, when trade revives, their places in the manufacturing and mining towns will be promptly filled by immigrants from abroad and by younger American workmen, and thus another large step will have been made in the rush of population toward its limits on this continent. The country is so large that a very general movement of this kind is scarcely noticed or mentioned until the succeeding census discloses the result, and even then only a few persons give it sufficient attention to understand its bearings on the great Population Question.

"HOW TO GET ACQUAINTED."

Up to the time of going to press with this number we have received sixteen letters, each containing twenty-five cents, in response to Mr. Joseph Anthony's proposition to have us publish a list of the names and addresses of persons who are interested in Socialism and who want to form an acquaintance with others of like ideas and faith. These sixteen persons seem enthusiastic for the plan, and are, no doubt, awaiting the first list, which will be printed, and sent out only to them, when we shall have received nine more names, or twenty-five in all. The second list will follow when fifty persons shall have subscribed, and so on, with a fresh and complete list for every twenty-five new names. Now is the time to respond, for those who favor the plan and desire to take part in it.

THE FALL OF MAN.

The Darwinian hypothesis, that man is the last link in an unbroken chain of descent from the animal races, and had an ape for his immediate predecessor, is generally supposed to subvert the foundations of the Christian gospel, which assumes that man is in a fallen state. Thus W. K. Clifford, writing for the *Nineteenth Century* (April, 1878), on behalf of the evolution philosophy, interjects this assertion:

"Historic and prehistoric evidence proves that we are a risen and not a fallen race." p. 725.

This means undoubtedly in general, that man is the last and most highly developed animal; and in particular that he is, as now existing, superior to all his predecessors, whether brutes or troglodyte humans of the transition periods. But the question remains—In what respect is he thus superior? His physical organization and his intellectual faculties may have been rising while his moral condition has been sinking. The fall of man which the gospel assumes, is not essentially a lowering of his physical or intellectual nature, but a degradation of his moral status—a fall into the consciousness of sin. Is it certain that in this sense "we are a risen and not a fallen race?" On the contrary, it seems certain that at the point where the ape became a man (if such a transformation ever did take place) the man began to know the difference between right and wrong; and then began the struggle between the animal nature and the sense of right; which struggle, according to historic evidences, has on the whole been thus far a defeat and a degradation. And the fall which thus commenced must have gone deeper as fast as man added the obligations of religion to the power of conscience. His recognition of God or gods, administering law over him, only sunk him lower and lower in self-condemnation.

Paul's philosophy about the agency of law in developing sin, as set forth in his epistle to the Romans, is very instructive and interesting in this connection. It is a philosophy which, though now nearly nineteen hundred years old, is not much attended to even by theologians, and is hardly recognized at all by the scientists. Paul evidently held that mere animals, though altogether selfish, and in that respect having the main element of sin, are yet not properly sinners for want of conscience; sin is dead in them; and men, in proportion as they approximate this conscienceless state of animals, are in like manner free from sin, or subjects of unconscious selfishness, which is only latent sin. The fall, according to the apostle, comes when the law begins to play upon the conscience; and that, according to the Darwinian theory, would be when the stolid ape rose into the moral discrimination of the man. Bible-men will find, perhaps with astonishment, on close examination of Paul's doctrine, that he considered the Mosaic law a means of increasing sin instead of virtue, and held that there was a second fall of man at the coming of that law, greater than the first. (See Rom. 5 and 7). We do not think that Paul would have quarreled with the Darwinian theory for any fear that it would displace the doctrine of the fall.

But leaving now historical questions, let us inquire for a moment, What is the actual state of man as compared with other animals—we mean in a moral sense? No matter whether he has fallen or risen, where do we find him? It seems to us that he is on the whole governed by wholesome instincts and the laws of nature not more, but much less, than the lower animals. Organized war, in which brutes can make no show of competition, is to this day the highest sphere of his physical and intellectual activities. And how is it about happiness, which should be the sign of a risen state? How many men at this moment are wishing they were annihilated? How many are envying the peaceful cow? Do such temptations ever haunt the breasts of brutes? Was suicide ever heard of among the apes? The fear of death alone is an ever-haunting torment sufficient to poison all the pleasantness of man's life; and this torment comes by superior knowledge; for there is no reason to believe that brutes have any habitual anticipation of death. May we not on the whole adopt Paul's saying a little altered—"If in this life only we have hope, we are of all [animals] the most miserable."

Our conclusion is that the Darwinian theory, in turning comparison from the innocence and happiness of Eden to the innocence and happiness of the humbler orders of animal life, only lays a broader and surer foundation for the old doctrine of the fall.

UTOPIAN SCHEMES.

We are sometimes told that our views are not *practical*—that the state of individual and social salvation we have in view is a Utopian fancy. It would be easy to disprove this charge, and bring ample indorsements of our position from the whole body of Scripture, history, the nature of man, and the nature of things. The first chapter of the Bible, and the last, and all prophecy between, is on the side of those changes which we believe in and advocate. We might appeal to facts, to the mission of Christ, to the triumph of Communism over selfishness on the day of Pentecost, all holding us imperatively to the issue of moral and spiritual perfection in this world. Besides our own experience and that of thousands of others in fraternal association is conclusive against the charge of Utopianism.

But dropping the defensive, we want to know of the objector, whether the present state of the world is satisfactory, practical and likely to last? The conservatives who wish to have all things continue as they were, and cry out Utopian! at every stir of improvement—what is to be said of their position? To us, they are the veriest visionaries that walk above ground. To expect that the present form of society is to continue, with anarchy and selfishness ruling in all its relations, is absurd and Utopian to the last degree. In the nature of things it can not last. It is only possible during a conflict of forces, and with the final victory of either there must be a change. By the law both of God and the devil, there must be progress—progress either toward order, harmony, and heaven, or toward diabolism, wreck and hell. We expect assuredly that the change will be for the better; believing that diabolism is on the whole unnatural to man, and that good is the strongest element in the universe. But in either case, we are on the move; and it is sheer fanaticism to base our prospects on a continuance of the moral and social elements as they are. Here again, all the facts are on hand, and pointing the same way. Any observer of the times can see irresistible forces at work, tending to undermine the money-despotism, dissolve the property relations of the past, and consolidate the scattered interests of the mass. The working-class are beginning to find out their importance and their power. The seeds of various combinations hostile to isolated aggrandizement are springing up. It will do for those who are so disposed to lament this movement; but it is infatuation to ignore or despise it.

ONLY ONE IN TEN THOUSAND.

Community visitors often express themselves in this way: "Your system is admirable, and may produce the best results on a small scale; but it is not adapted to general society. Only a small part of human nature is fit for such social conditions as your system contemplates. Take men as they are, and not one in ten thousand is prepared for Communism; and it will take centuries to educate the masses so that they will be prepared for it."

It is true that Communists (we use this word in its highest sense) contemplate a new and improved state of society, in which refinement and brotherly love shall be the rule, and grossness and selfishness the exception; but are they to be regarded as impracticable philosophers and visionaries on this account? The same reasoning would condemn all the reformers of the past, and make Jesus Christ the chief of visionaries.

Communists expect much of human nature, but only what has been presented to all men for the past eighteen hundred years as possible of attainment. They simply believe it is possible for human nature to be controlled by the higher class of motives, which are every-where recognized as having a certain amount of influence on the conduct of men. It may be admitted that the lower motives are generally predominant; but certainly it is quite as natural for men to be controlled by good motives as by bad ones. Communists concede that human nature, when controlled by the lower motives—by lust,

pride, avarice and deceit—is unworthy of confidence, and capable of unspeakable evil; but the extent of its degradation in this false combination may be only the measure of the glory it may attain.

The possibility of Communism turns on the answer which is given to this question: Is it possible for the higher motives—motives which address the best instincts of human nature—instincts which reveal to us an inner world of beauty and glory, and which prompt us to strive for goodness, loveliness, excellence—to become the controlling elements in human nature? Communists believe it is, and that the best experience of men in the past history of the world confirms this view.

"Only one in ten thousand," it is said, "is prepared for Communism." But even this small number make Communism possible and desirable; and they may demonstrate to the remainder how incomparably superior in all respects love is to selfishness—generosity to avarice—altruism to egoism.

Will it "take centuries to educate the masses so that they will be prepared for Communism?" That depends upon the civilizing influences brought to bear upon them. Communism is the crowning glory of civilization; and just so surely as man has advanced from barbarism to the present standard of civilization must he keep on till he reaches Communism. It has taken centuries to bring the masses thus far; will it take other centuries to make them see that their highest good lies in living for others rather than for self? In answering this question, it must be borne in mind that the speed of the car of progress has been constantly increasing, and that its present rate is not to be measured by any thing in the past. The last fifty years have witnessed moral and social changes which at the beginning of the century seemed as impossible and improbable as now appears the preparation of the masses of mankind for complete Communism. But be the time long or short, the end is certain.

WORKING-WOMEN.

Much is said about the rights of workingmen, but we hear little about the rights of working-women, who are quite as numerous, and probably have as many grievances as the laborers of the sterner sex. In the hundreds of thousands of families in our land, women are stationed at the range, at the stove, and at the fire-place, preparing food and doing other necessary work to make home comfortable and attractive. And as we ascend the scale from the extreme poor to the various degrees of family opulence, the number of working-women in any given household increases. They are differentiated into nursery-maids, chamber-maids, washer-women, governesses, etc., etc. Educators are workers as well as others—workers with both brain and muscle, and in the field of education women are more numerous than men; and here they are constantly winning new victories. Half a century ago the young women of the New England States considered themselves highly favored when employed to teach the small children of the summer district-schools, for very insignificant wages, while the men monopolized the teaching of the more lucrative fall and winter terms. But at the present time, the women, through the agency in part of normal schools, have won for themselves the field of district-school teaching, for all parts of the year. The "schoolmarm," it has been discovered, can, by her grace and tact, win victories in her encounters with lawless young roughs, where the "schoolmaster" of olden times would experience only mortifying defeats; and the stern master has had to vacate his post of honor in favor of the more gentle mistress. Quietly, but perseveringly have the young women of our country availed themselves of the educational advantages so freely offered them by our schools and colleges. The normal schools have accomplished in this country far greater results than were anticipated by their founders. New York City is doing a noble work for the education of her children. One of the finest educational institutions in this country is her "Normal College," established in 1874. Of the thirty teachers employed in this magnificent edifice, twenty-eight are women; and of the twenty-three hundred teachers employed by the board of education in the city twenty-one hundred are women. A splendid army truly of working-women. From these figures it will be seen that women are to be the principal educators of our nation's children and its future rulers.

But our working-women are by no means limited in their sphere of usefulness by domestic duties and the text-books of the school-room. Qualifying themselves, as they have been and are doing by a thorough education, for almost any honorable service open to ability and skill, without regard to sex, during the late war they were almost perforce required to enter fields of industry hitherto barred against them. The army had swallowed up the young men, and many branches of business were suffering for the required clerks and operatives. Young women were invited to enter these new avenues of industry. They timidly ventured on trial. Their success was complete. Their previous drill in diversified work, particularly the sewing-machine, had done much in acquainting them how to manipulate a machine as a tool. The doors into cotton and woolen mills had been open to them for a long time; but now the doors to all kinds of nice metal work, from the making of a gold watch to an iron spoon, were freely flung open to workers in long skirts.

Indeed, the only limit to woman's sphere of industry in all directions will eventually be her *in*ability to fill the bill. Already have the sisterhood mastered the three highest professions—law, medicine, and theology. In the arts they are the peers of men. But, in our humble opinion, the greatest triumphs for working-women are still before them. As Socialism, rightly interpreted, signifies the enlargement and refinement of homes, women will become the equal partners with men in their formation. Judging from the experience of existing Communistic societies, women posess more largely than men the essential faculty of agreement. In the family woman is man's superior. Intuitively, she sees the fitness of things, and can act wisely and unhesitatingly. At all events, woman is instinctively progressive, and we dare not set the limits of her future agency in the elevation and refinement of the human family.

G. C.

For "Fish-*soil*," in G. C.'s article "The Wage-Line Ignored," in our last number, read Fish-*oil*.

STATE RIGHTS OVER LAND.

1. It seems hardly easy to deny that the States have the constitutional right to restrict the quantities and value of lands tenable by any *one* person. And even, if by any chance that right could not be established by direct methods, so that a statute could directly fix limits, then the ready method of heavy taxation is at hand. Just as in the early part of the war against the rebellion, the country being filled with the paper-issues of State-banks, the General Government could not directly forbid their issuing currency: but it taxed their currency five per cent. per annum; and that of course drove it nearly all out of circulation. So a tax of five per cent., or if necessary ten per cent. per annum, on all lands in excess of the prescribed amount, would soon force subdivisions, or bring the lands under the state-hammer for unpaid taxes.

2. Does it not seem equally within the clear rights of a State, to command that its idle lands shall be brought into cultivation, and in default thereof, to impose penalties and heavy extra taxes, and, finally, force sales for non-payment thereof?

3. When a State *commands* owners of real estate (whether unused or of excessive quantities) to subdivide, and to improve and cultivate, as the case may be,—has not the State the right also to impose any reasonable penalty for disobedience of its orders for such purposes? And if so, it does not seem as if a forced sale would be too great a penalty, especially after ample notice, and when the proceeds are to accrue to the proper owner, and not to the State.

4. When, as is proposed, only a fourth part of large tracts shall be sold, and that too, for *immediate settlement*, the owner would find that the immediate settlement of the one-fourth sold would so increase the value of the remaining three-fourths, that he would himself probably be convinced that he had received no injury, but rather a great benefit. And public benefits, so great to capital and labor and land-owners, and to the State also by keeping the citizens at home, would justify the State in exercising the right of eminent domain. And in Pennsylvania about the only constitutional restriction on the State's taking private property is that it shall be duly paid for.

5. If the question were about the rights of the nation, instead of the States individually, some of the answers might be different, because it is conceded in law that the United States Government has right to do only those things which the Constitution authorizes, but the individual States have the right to do all things which the constitutions (of State and Nation) do not forbid.

6. Any law framed to express the principle of land limitation generally would have to be more or less modified to suit each particular State. For instance, in Pennsylvania its new Constitution forbids all special laws: consequently when cities are spoken of, they must not be mentioned by name, but by classes, as, cities of the first class, cities of the second class, etc. In other States other slight modifications would be necessary; but they could be easily made. Thus farming near home could be made practicable even without alterations of State-Constitutions; although such alterations might, in some cases, greatly facilitate the business.

R. J. W.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Tamarack, Ill., May 12, 1878.

Editors American Socialist:—The article on "How to get Acquainted" prompts me to write a few lines. I suppose that the greater portion of the friends of Communism are living isolated from the society of those of like views, and are anxious to make the acquaintance of such persons. Probably the mode of communication that will be most beneficial to all will have to be through a printed paper; but still for many, desirous of forming a more intimate acquaintance, perhaps no better plan could be devised than a "printed list" containing the names of those wishing to get acquainted. It may have some objections, but as it is on the mutual and voluntary plan, every individual will be able to control his own connection with the whole matter.

Where two or more persons of like views live within short distance of each other, it is desirable that they should meet often for purposes of mutual improvement.

Our family were brought up together, and lived together, though our interests were divided. Being a believer in Communism, I proposed that we should unite our individual interests in one; and we made a success of it as long as we remained together; but individual interests compelled us to separate. Must this always be the way? I hope not, and think not, for I believe the ranks of Socialists will have the means of success developed within their own circle of isolated members.

We are accused of being a visionary class of people, and the history of Socialism would seem to justify the statement. It will not do to give way to too much anticipation of future association, but rather let us make the most of ourselves right where we are. Very few persons are prepared for practical Communism; but we can educate and inform ourselves to a certain degree. "They that are faithful over a few things shall be made rulers over many" through Communism; and it will not take the "*despotism of a leader*" to make it a success with a suitable class of people.

Yours truly, W. F.

Pleasanton, Kansas, May 13, 1878.

Editors American Socialist:—I am pleased to learn from your last paper that you approve of the plan suggested in the article entitled "How to get Acquainted." I think if every one in sending his name would intimate the platform he would prefer to organize upon, it might enable each one to correspond with congenial associates and save considerable time and trouble; and would it not be well to wait until you receive fifty names before publishing any? I think your readers will appreciate your efforts to bring them together and enable them to work out their respective ideas in their own way.

> "One detachment of our army may encamp upon the hill,
> While another in the valley may enjoy its own sweet will;
> This may answer to one watchword, that may echo to another,
> And in unity and concord they discern that each is brother."

Having just returned from a week's visit to the Liberal Community lately started in Neosho County, Kansas, perhaps some of your readers may be interested in a short account of it. It is located at Urbana, on the M. K. & T. R. R. Any map of Kansas will show where and how to reach it. It is situated in a beautiful country, surrounded by intelligent neighbors, many of them in sympathy with their principles, several of whom have applied for admission; but the members are determined to make haste slowly, having read J. H. Noyes's "American Socialisms" and Wm. A. Hinds later work to some purpose. They publish *The Star of Hope*, and any one of your readers can send and get it if they desire further information than you can make room for. No one will be denied admission upon probation on account of his religious convictions, but in order to save trouble and expense to a certain class of theoretical Communists referred to in Mr. Hinds's work, who are suffering from superior intellectual development, that no one but themselves can discern or appreciate, I may state that they have refused several of that class already. One of them, although, by his own admission, repudiated by the press, the bar, the pulpit and the medical profession, had the impudence to propose that if they would only allow him to edit their paper and manage their business generally, they would flourish like a tree planted by a river. Another, who visited

them last fall, modestly requested them to step down from their platform and adopt his, although he had repeatedly failed with a paper of his own and all the requisite elements of success, had he possessed any administrative ability or even common prudence.

What "Esperanza" at present needs is capital to purchase land, which can be bought now very cheap, but it is rapidly rising in value. They are determined to keep out of debt, or they could get all the land they want on time. I conversed with several of their neighbors during my visit, who testified to the honesty, morals, and ability of the members. The originator of the Community, I was told, was the best boot-maker in that country, and has a small stock of work and material on hand, and a good outfit of tools. He also keeps a small stock of drugs and other goods. Another member is a doctor, but understands all kinds of farm work, and is now at work with the other members planting corn upon hired land. They own forty acres of land one and one-quarter miles from Urbana; but the owner had leased it for three years before the Community started. They own several town-lots laid out very tastefully in landscape gardening with a large plantation of strawberries and other small fruits, and quite a collection of beautiful flowers, etc., all inclosed by a neatly-painted picket fence. The house is nearly new, contains fourteen rooms, is well painted outside and in, doors, etc., all grained in oak; bed-rooms faultlessly clean and carpeted. Their table is bountifully supplied with every thing needful, and cooked and served so as to suit the most fastidious. Persons interested in their experiment can very easily and comfortably satisfy themselves with regard to the desirability of a more intimate connection with them, at a very resonable expense of time and money, as they charge only $2.50 per week for board and lodging. No one need go there, however, with the idea of joining them unless he can furnish capital to purchase land or establish some industry that will enable him to pay his way. I am glad to think they have adopted a platform that all good persons can stand upon. Whilst they are liberal, they will not tolerate any thing unlawful: they are willing to wait as well as labor for the good time coming,

> "When every transfer of earth's natural gifts
> Shall be a commerce of good words and works," etc.

That they may succeed in a consummation so devoutly to be wished for is the earnest desire of

Yours fraternally, WM. CHESNUT, SR.

CEREBRUM ABDOMINALE.

IX.

It is with reverence that we touch the subject of religious ecstasy. In the Jewish temple there was an inner sanctuary—the Holy of Holies—veil within veil—where God was said to dwell. It was made without window, to be lighted only by the glory of his presence. Now the temple and all its service were symbolical, and, as we read the Bible, the inner sanctuary was a symbol of the heart of man. We need not quote to show that the temple itself symbolized the human organization. Paul is full of the idea that man is the true temple of God. He is so literal even as to say, "Know ye not that your *bodies* are the temples of the Holy Ghost?" If he had localized the inner sanctuary in the same literal speech he would have said it was in the breast. He would have said it was in the heart, and the heart in its scriptural sense is in the middle of the breast. Of this we have one notable proof. Aaron was commanded to wear the breast-plate of judgment "on his heart," and it filled a void place in the high priest's garment exactly over the middle of the breast. Paul speaks of writing on the "fleshly tables of the heart," in allusion to the stone-tablets which were the chief contents of the ark in the Holy of Holies. He speaks of Christ dwelling in the heart; in fact that doctrine is the all in all of his gospel.

We note one remarkable saying of Christ, "He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, *out of his belly* shall flow rivers of living water." As the Scripture hath said! What Scripture? Where is there any such queer saying as this? Christ must have had in his mind one of Ezekiel's visions of the temple, and the river of living waters issuing out from the sanctuary. (See Ezek. chap. 47th.) He thought of the sanctuary as symbolizing the heart, and he thought of the heart as in the breast. If he had said out of his heart, instead of "out of his belly," it would have made politer English, but not improved his meaning.

It is this Bible mystery of the Shekinah that makes us feel reverent in discussing religious ecstasy as one of the natural or normal phenomena of the solar-plexus. It is as impossible and inconceivable that this experience should occur without some objective cause as that the emotions of love—love of the romantic type—should be excited without any cause outside of one's own heart. In love there is another being concerned. This being captivates the attention, and presently is invested with transcendental beauty. So in religious ecstasy the attention is directed toward God and the result is a transcendental view, first of his righteousness then of his mercy. The process is just as sure and definite in one case as the other, and the existence of an objective cause in one case argues it in the other.

The preparation of heart leading to religious ecstasy is perfectly well defined. It is a humble, soft state. The proud heart is hard. These epithets, soft and hard, express a real physical sensation in the solar-plexus. The *melting* of the heart in contrition is felt physically like the liquefaction of a solid. There are many other epithets applied to the heart in ordinary intercourse, which have what you may call a "material basis," that is, they are very naturally suggested by physical sensations at the pit of the stomach, as warm, cold, heavy, light, open, shut up, large, small, etc., etc.

We have selected three instances of religious ecstasy from books of ready reference. They may exceed the average experience in degree, but they describe the phenomena in kind, and touch responsive chords in the universal religious heart.

We quote first from a narrative of personal experience by Mrs. Jonathan Edwards, written at the request of her husband:

"Thursday night, Jan. 28, was the sweetest night I ever had in my life. I never before, for so long a time together, enjoyed so much of the light, and rest and sweetness of heaven in my soul, but without the least agitation of body during the whole time. The great part of the night I lay awake, sometimes asleep, and sometimes between sleeping and waking. But all night I continued in a constant, clear and lively sense of the heavenly sweetness of Christ's excellent and transcendent love, of his nearness to me, and of my dearness to him; with an inexpressibly sweet calmness of soul in an entire rest in him. I seemed to myself to perceive a glow of divine love come down from the heart of Christ in heaven, into my heart, in a constant stream, like a stream or pencil of sweet light. At the same time, my heart and soul all flowed out in love to Christ; so that there seemed to be a constant flowing and reflowing of heavenly and divine love from Christ's heart to mine; and I appeared to myself to float or swim in these bright sweet beams of the love of Christ, like the motes swimming in the beams of the sun, or the streams of his light which come in at the window. My soul remained in a kind of heavenly elysium. So far as I am capable of making a comparison, I think that what I felt each minute, during the continuance of the whole time, was worth more than all the outward comfort and pleasure which I had enjoyed in my whole life put together. It was a pure delight which fed and satisfied the soul. It was pleasure without the least sting or any interruption. It was a sweetness which my soul was lost in. It seemed to be all that my feeble frame could sustain, of that fullness of joy which is felt by those who behold the face of Christ, and share his love in the heavenly world. There was but little difference whether I was asleep or awake, so deep was the impression made on my soul; but if there was any difference, the sweetness was greatest and most uninterrupted while I was asleep."

Mr. Finney, from whose memoirs we make our next selection, had got comfort under an awful sense of sin, by believing a scriptural promise which came to him as from heaven. It fell, he says, into his heart rather than his intellect, and his faith was a voluntary trust, not an intellectual effort. Other promises came to him in the same way and he appropriated them by the same faith, till the repose of his mind was "unspeakably great." "I never can describe it in words," he says. "It seemed as if my heart was all liquid." On the evening of the same day he had an ecstasy which he describes as follows:

"Without any expectation of it, without ever having the thought in my mind that there was any such thing for me, without any recollection that I had ever heard the thing mentioned by any person in the world, the Holy Spirit descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body and soul. I could feel the impression, like a wave of electricity, going through and through me. Indeed, it seemed to come in waves and waves of liquid love; for I could not express it in any other way. It seemed like the very breath of God. I can recollect distinctly that it seemed to fan me, like immense wings.

"No words can express the wonderful love that was shed abroad in my heart. I wept aloud with joy and love; and I do not know but I should say, I literally bellowed out the unutterable gushings of my heart. These waves came over me, and over me, and over me, one after the other, until I recollect I cried out, 'I shall die if these waves continue to pass over me.' I said, 'Lord, I can not bear any more;' yet I had no fear of death. A member of the church found me in this state of loud weeping, and said to me, 'Mr. Finney, what ails you?' I could make him no answer for sometime. He then said, 'Are you in pain?' I gathered myself up as best I could, and replied, 'No, but so happy that I can not live.'"

Our third selection is from the Religious Experience of J. H. Noyes. He had been through the usual course of a despairing sinner and obtained peace, as Mr. Finney did, by promises which were given him as with the voice of God. Several hours after came the sudden glory of the Shekinah. He describes his sensations thus:

"Three times in quick succession a stream of eternal love gushed through my heart and rolled back again to its source. 'Joy unspeakable and full of glory' filled my soul. All fear and doubt and condemnation passed away. I knew that my heart was clean, and that the Father and the Son had come and made it their abode."

Not long after he had a similar experience of which he writes in a letter as follows:

"At one time the love which came from an invisible source seemed like celestial fire rushing through every fibre of my body and every susceptibility of my soul. At another, it seemed like a bubbling stream of living water. At another, it was like a mighty but peaceful river, rolling its pure waves through my bosom. At another, it was like an ocean in which I sunk and sunk, and found no bottom."

We are not well read enough in modern science to know how it would dispose of such facts. We know it is fashionable to speak of the emotional as antithetic to the practical, but such experiences as are related above have a lifelong effect. They changed Mr. Finney's whole character and determined his extraordinary career, which determined again the careers of countless numbers of his generation. Certainly the emotional is mother to the practical.

A PASTOR PUZZLED.

I puzzle many a weary hour over such facts and problems as follows:

In this city is an exceptionally industrious woman, past sixty years of age, with three daughters and three sons; herself a widow. The youngest child is, say, thirteen. All hands are poor. No special virtue or vice to be predicated of any of the family except the mother. She is eminently hard-working, and skilled in her work as a laundress.

Hard times come on. The young folks have no trade. They cling together as a family. The old mother earns the entire income. People say to the young folks, "Shame on you, to be living on your mother that way." The boys earn, occasionally, fifty cents a day stripping tobacco. Now and then the girls have a job sorting rags at forty cents a day. Occasionally they get ten pounds of hair to pull. The girls lend a hand and help the old mother wash and iron.

But those boys I keep thinking about. They do not illustrate all the cardinal virtues, of course. The street has been their playground from infancy. They are, in my judgment, far better boys than any of my father's sons would have been with the same advantages. I have looked around to find places for those boys to learn trades. Carpenters, masons, shoemakers, tinsmiths, plumbers, broom-makers, all reply they "don't want any boys. There is no profit in taking boys." Here begins my puzzle.

If either one of these boys will drop into a dry-goods store and "lift" a bolt of silk, or snatch a watch from the jeweler's, and run away slowly, with a "hue and cry" at his heels, he will be soon arrested by a policeman. He will plead guilty of grand larceny and will receive sentence, as a first offense, to the admirable Reformatory in this city recently opened and now in operation.

In this Reformatory he will enjoy the hospitality of buildings and grounds that cost eight hundred thousand dollars. He will occupy a roomy, clean, and well-ventilated cell; an iron bedstead and sweet bedding, with permission and leisure to beautify his new home.

Moreover, he will have steady work found him, yet by no means excessive. He will be taught a trade. He will be fed on food nutritious and scientifically wholesome. His small vices, chewing, smoking and drinking, peremptorily ended. A resident surgeon will supervise his environment. Evenings he will attend school. Sundays he will receive the ministry of able clergymen. Books and newspapers judiciously selected will be within his reach. Finally, if he be docile and industrious, he will receive credits from month to month, entitling him to successive enlargements amounting almost to freedom and self-control.

In short, he will be so trained and treated that if I knew of any way of getting my own son into that institution without his being guilty of crime I should not hesitate to commit him at once.

Now my puzzle is this:—Where three sons of a widow are guilty of poverty only, I see no chance for them. But when guilty of grand larceny their prospects brighten.

Question 1. Shall I advise that boy: "Go grab a watch! It is the only way to get into a good home school. The jeweler will get it back right away. Run slowly! Plead guilty, and go straight to the best home you ever had."

Question 2. If I may not tell him this, what shall I advise?

Question 3. Is not the admirable discipline of a well-conducted reformatory a far wiser and more nearly symmetric educational scheme than the book and brain culture of our common schools?

Question 4. Have intelligent and Christain masters and mechanics any duties toward the sons of widows?

I find no fault with the Reformatory experiment. This is

a step in the right direction. My puzzle is that poverty should damage a boy's prospects more than crime! That the State of New York can not help a widow's son to manhood until he breaks a law, and receives her blessing disguised as penalty.

What answers?—*Thomas K. Beecher in the Christian Union.*

OUR DAILY RECKONING.

If we sit down at set of sun,
And count the things that we have done,
And, counting, find
One self-denying act, one word
That eased the heart of him who heard;
One glance most kind
That felt like sunshine where it went,
Then we may count the day well spent.

But if, through all the livelong day,
We've not eased hearts by yea or nay;
If through it all
We've nothing done that we can trace,
That brought the sunshine to a face:
No act, most small,
That helped some soul, and nothing cost,
Then count the day as worse than lost.

—*Selected.*

MALTHUS'S LAW OF POPULATION.

From the Democratic Review.

There is no generalization of the science of political economy which has held its own against attack from so many quarters and for so long a time, and which is now so generally accepted, as what is called the Malthusian theory of population. To state it as its discoverer understood and declared it is to carry conviction with the statement to every mind not obstinately resolved to misunderstand. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to elaborately explain the operations of that law here, or to defend the solid ground upon which it rests. It is, in the language of Malthus, that there is a "constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it." Or, as applied especially to man, in the more elaborate and analytical words of one of Malthus's most intelligent commentators, Prof. Cairnes—"that, regard being had to the powers and propensities of human nature on which the increase of the species depends, there is a constant tendency in human beings to multiply faster than, regard being had to the actual circumstances of the external world and the power which man can exercise over the resources at his disposal, the means of subsistence are capable of being increased."

A careful examination of the instances of natural human increase under the most favorable conditions of sustenance has demonstrated that population can, at least, double itself every twenty-five years. That it would exceed even this rate, under still better conditions of sustenance, there is no reason to doubt; and that this rate of increase could be kept up indefinitely, if the means of sustaining life could be indefinitely increased in the same ratio, is a perfectly safe deduction. It is a fair corollary, then, of the law of population that, wherever the natural increase of the human species does not maintain this ratio, it is not because of what might be called a subjective decadence of virility and fecundity, but on account of the objective impossibility of increasing the food-supply to keep pace with it. Where there is no food there can be no animal life is as self-evident a proposition as that where there is no fuel there can be no fire; and it is equally true to say that animal life can only be increased so far as the food necessary to sustain it can be increased. Population will always keep pace, by natural increase, with the increase of sustenance, and will be kept within that limit, where the natural propensities tend to pass it, by starvation, disease, war, and, among a very provident people, a decrease in the number of marriages, and a tendency to smaller families.

The Directory issued by Pettengill & Co. for 1878 is a handsome volume, embellished with portraits of S. M. Pettengill, the publisher, Thurlow Weed, Geo. W. Childs, Hon. Bayard Taylor, Hon. Henry Watterson, Bret Harte, the late James Gordon Bennett, the late Samuel Bowles, and the late Charles O. Rogers. The number of newspapers and other periodicals in the United States recorded in this new Directory is 8,133, of which there are 752 daily, 61 tri-weekly, 114 semi-weekly, 6,185 weekly, 111 semi-monthly, 831 monthly, 18 bi-monthly, 61 quarterly. In 1877, the total number recorded was 8,119, showing a gain, during the year, of only 14 new periodicals. For the previous seven years the average gain had been over 500 per year. The 8,133 periodicals now published in this country vary in circulation from 200 copies to upwards of 200,000.

The old predaceous instinct is so strong in the dark corners of human nature, it will be sometime before even the clamorous workingman will be willing to sit still at the public table and be helped to what he desires. We want to seize on what we like and bear it away to our holes and eat it there with our cubs around us. What though a man lives in a house with red sash and otherwise artistically painted? If he is a competive, grasping man his home is only a hole to which he retreats in times of rain and darkness. The rich carpets on the floor and the pictures on the wall only disguise the fact a little.

RECEIVED.

La Voix de L'Ouvrier, Organe des Interêts du Travail. Paraissant tous les Dimanches. 130 Rue Jolly, Schaerbeek-Bruxelles.

Peterson's Counterfeit Detector and National Bank-Note List. Containing the names of all Genuine and Fraudulent National Banks, compiled from official Authority.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

We have nothing to say about the frost.

The Ohio legislators have Gerrymandered that State.

Ping! Death has hit General Dakin, the great rifle-shooter.

It now appears that James Gorden Bennett gave away his shot in that Bennett-May affair.

The Methodist Church North is trying to court the dear Methodist Church South. Oh, Cumback!

Anthony Comstock has made a sensational failure in his attempt to get Dr. Sara B. Chase indicted.

The Syndicate has taken the whole of the $50,000,000 of 4½ per cent. bonds, and will want to sell some more perhaps.

The Court of Claims has decided that the Eight Hour Law doesn't compel the Government to give ten hours' pay for eight hours' work.

Sir Edward Thornton is believed to have his detectives right in the middle of the Fenian councils in this country. Haven't a doubt of it.

When a crazy, Hodel-um Socialist tries to shoot Kaiser William, he hurts the cause of German Socialism more than any thing the conservatives can do.

The movements of the funny-graphers are now chronicled in the same column with the prima donnas, star actors, "milingtary" men, politicians and lightning bugs.

The Republicans are driven to such straits it is even proposed by some of them to re-nominate Rutherford B. Hayes for the Presidency, provided his objections can be overcome.

Mr. Trelawney says in his lately published "Records" that he never knew two men more unhappy than Byron and Shelley. Who would a poet be, if he had to be an inspired wretch?

Austria is said to be a little stiffer on the Eastern question. This cold snap has done it. Should think it would Reichsrath in that country if Russia should go to snatching any pieces of Turkey.

The Greeks have a University at Athens with a faculty of seventy-two professors paid by the State, and 1,500 students. The speciality of that institution is to restore the classical Greek. Many European scholars resort to it for the study of modern Greek.

More than twenty savings-banks have failed in New York City within the last six years: but it is some consolation to learn from Acting Superintendent Lamb, that $8,000,000 will likely be repaid to the depositors, leaving a total loss of less than $4,500,000.

The Knights of Labor is a secret organization of workingmen in Pennsylvania. Their lodges in Philadelphia alone are believed to have 18,000 enrolled members. Their oath is similar to that of the Molly Maguires, and they are thought to be identical with the Communists of the West.

The most notable death since our last is that of Professor Joseph Henry, of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington. Our system of weather reports and prognostications was his idea. He it was that developed electro-magnetism till the electric telegraph became possible, and Morse reaped the honors.

Agitator Kearney, of California, had become stuffed up with a great deal of matter that was different from what the workingmen liked to hear from him. They wanted him to keep on shouting "Out with the Chinese," and he wanted to bellow something else, and so they had to read the "dictator" out of the party.

It is becoming more and more apparent that California is a place of great mental strain and anxiety. The number of suicides in San Francisco last year was, in proportion to the population, twice as great as in New York City, and this year it bids fair to be thrice as great. The simultaneous increase of insanity would indicate that the two evils spring from the same set of circumstances.

Austria has been voting 60,000,000 florins for warlike purposes, and a Vienna letter, believed to be inspired by the Government, says that Austrian interests dictate the establishment of an army in Eastern Galicia, another in Transylvania, a third in Banat, an army corps in South Dalmatia, the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovinia, and all the Turkish territory between the Adriatic and Ægean Sea.

The Russians have shown their hand frankly, and say that they have come to this country to purchase ships for the Muscovite navy. Captain Semetschkin has already purchased one steamer, and will man it from the Cimbria. The British say they are not afraid, but they know as well as we do that two Confederate cruisers caused the almost entire destruction of American commerce in American vessels.

Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co. have just published "Vol. II.—Part I" of Gray's "Synoptical Flora of North America." This book takes up the subject where it was dropped in the old "Flora of North America" by Torrey & Gray; and when the work is done it will occupy all the ground covered by the older Flora, and will be a complete record up to the moment. The present completed work will embrace about 1,200 pages of concise description.

Mr. Beecher's brother James preached in Plymouth Church on a recent Sunday, the pastor being off on a lecturing tour, and said: "I preach at home in a little school-house in the wilderness. We have a little cabinet organ, and I play it myself, because we have no other organist. I am also sexton and usher. I play simple tunes to the glory of God, and the rough backwoods' people join in singing the hymns. I don't know any thing about hell; but I know a great deal about heaven."

Every man has pain and misery enough to make it apparent sooner or later that he belongs to the one great sect of Achers. But the Achers are subdivided into two minor sects: the seekers and the thinkers. The one concludes that his malady is a sickness, the other thinks it is chiefly a sin. The one takes to psalms and prayer, the other to 'pothecary stuff and science. Both are very set in their respective ways. For our own part, we think those who watch and pray have a little the best of it.

The President has invited Congress to instruct him in respect to the payment of the Canadian Fisheries Award. Accompanying the message is a letter to the President by Secretary Evarts reviewing the whole case, and taking the ground that the award is faulty in not being the unanimous decision of the Commission; that it is excessive, being much greater than the sum set forth in the claim for damages; and that if paid it should be done under protest. An appropriation for the purpose is called for.

The papers are making some account of our National Senators' expense for lemonade. During the heat of July and the fifteen days of August, 1876, it appears that the Senate utilized, for legislative purposes, 115 boxes of best lemons and 2,723½ pounds of best granulated sugar. Well, let them have it. Legislation is a weariness to the flesh. We ourselves once found that hanging around a State House to get a hearing before a Legislative Fish Committee was a sad and thirsty business, calling for acid drinks and a quick flight to the country.

The idea of England drawing on the millions of India, and by the means of her Sepoys becoming once more the great military as well as the greatest naval power of Europe is, indeed, a grand one, and it strikes on the imagination with all the traditional pomp and magnificence of the East. Beaconsfield is a Jew and Oriental, and we must expect that his schemes will have the breadth and splendor of a torrid imagination. But those British Liberals don't think as we do. They are asking, Why is this thus? And who said you Sepoys might come to Europe?

I tell you it takes a pretty high-headed fellow to sit on the philosophical wayside fence and pass judgment on all those old religions as they go by—each one secretly or openly believing that he alone is right and lovely, and fully determined to brook no criticism. Prof. Max Müller is now lecturing at Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, on what is called the Hibbert foundation—a trust fund established "for the promotion of comprehensive learning and thorough research in relation to religion as it appears to the scholar and philosopher, and wholly apart from any particular church or system"

The strikes and lockouts in Lancashire, England, have at last come to riot and violence. The masters would consent to no less than 10 per cent. reduction of wages, and the desperate men could stand it no longer. They can not see that in contending for the markets of the world the masters have in a sense been worsted, and that the workmen have in reality a community of interest with their employers. Why can there not be an agent or corps of disinterested persons to stand between the employer and the employed, and bring them to an understanding of each other's situation? They naturally distrust one another's representations, no matter how true they may be.

This paragrapher favored Mr. Tilden in 1876, but he wants to have it understood that he does not belong to that horde of Democrats who can be edified and strengthened by any such Louisiana-Florida investigations as our Mr. Potter is trying to favor us with. Our conservative Democrats, Republicans and business men ought to get together in town-hall and public-square and say that this Congressional Pottering shall be stopped. We Democrats got eucred in that little game from the Presidency. It was understood from the start that neither of us meant to be strictly honest and play fair, and so what is the use of all this investigation? It won't deceive anybody who has taste enough to wash his feet and sense enough to go in when it rains.

The death and eminence of Professor Henry lead the

Nation to remark; "If Galton's researches on hereditary genius were supplemented by equally careful ones of genius which appeared to be entirely sporadic, we might find an exhibit yet more striking than that which he presented us. It is certainly worthy of note that the man who, during the present generation, has exerted the most enduring and widespread influence on the progress of American Science, is not known to have had a blood-relation of intellectual prominence. His ancestry is unknown, and his parentage offers no features of interest. Even the year of his birth is in doubt, some authorities placing it 1797, and others in 1799 or even later."

The people of Cincinnati, having completed their enormous Music Hall at an expense of some $300,000 ($185,000 of it incurred by Mr. R. R. Springer of that city), they have been holding a grand musical festival of seven days' duration. A chorus of 707 voices drawn from that city and the neighboring ones of Ohio, Theodore Thomas' orchestra of nearly 150 instruments, scores of fine singers, all taking a part under the direction of Mr. Thomas, in what proves to be a great séance and gust of musical ecstasy and inspiration which carries the performers as well as the audience of 6,000 persons far beyond themselves. The organ belonging to this hall, though less highly finished and costing less, is larger and has nearly a thousand more pipes than the great Boston organ.

The news from Europe is both peaceful and warlike. It has leaked out from St. Petersburg that Count Shouvanloff has represented to his Government that it would be for the interest of Russia to concede to Europe the most of the terms formulated by England. On the other hand, Todleben seems to be engaged in coercing the Turks. His demand for the surrender of Shumla and Varna wasn't complied with, for his own Government would not allow his withdrawal from Constantinople to Adrianople, so long as the British ships were in the Marmora. So instead of withdrawing he has actually advanced eight or nine miles nearer to the Turkish capital, and is causing considerable uneasiness there. The language of the Russian minister to the Sultan is also becoming more and more imperative, the probable object being to sever the connection between the Porte and England.

George Eliot is great and sad. Herbert Spencer is greater and sadder. Both of them have found out that God is the great unknowable. Cardinal Manning has a different idea of God, and here is a picture of him in his unscientific serenity: "The whole mien and appearance of this great divine gave me," says a writer in the *Baltimore Sun*, "the impression of an earnest man of high moral feeling, purity of purpose and intensely religious sentiment. Of clear intellect and marvelous mental reach, yet as simple as a child, he is a joyous courtier, a ripe scholar and a cardinal preëminently. He is a thin, tall man, worn by much wasting and many vigils. His head is large, his forehead prominent, hard and dry looking. His face is long and angular, a perfect type of the ascetic monk physiognomy. His complexion is of a dull, dry sallow; his eyes of that luminous, changing color that one moment is a deep gray and next a dark brown."

The Humors of the "Ramazan" are thus set forth in "Constantinople," a book by Edmondo de Amicis, an Italian: "It is amusing to plant one's self upon the bridge of the Sultan Validé a few minutes before the sun goes down. About a thousand boatmen may be seen at this point, far and near, coming and going, or sitting still. They have every one been fasting since dawn, are wild with hunger, and have their little supper ready in the caique, and their eyes constantly move from the food to the sun, from the sun to the food, while there is a general restlessness among them as in a menagerie when the animals are about to be fed. When the sun is half hidden they begin to take the food in their hands, while all with one accord turn toward the West, and stand fixed, with their eyes on the sun, mouths open, bread in hand, and joy in visage. At last the fiery point vanishes, the cannon thunders, and at that very instant thirty-two thousand teeth bite off enormous morsels from a thousand pieces of bread."

A week ago last Monday the Democrats introduced their resolution ordering an investigation of the alleged Republican frauds in Louisiana and Florida whereby those two States were made to return electors for Hayes instead of for Tilden. Mr. Clarkson N. Potter, a gentlemanly, kid-gloved Democrat from New York, presented the resolution as a question of privilege, taking precedence of all others. At present the Democrats are adhering firmly to the purpose of passing the resolution just as it is—no amendments or additions allowed. So far the Republicans have refused to vote, thereby preventing a quorum, and stopping all business. Such Democrats as Mr. Alexander H. Stephens can not even say a word against this piece of pestilent campaign politics. *Later.* On Friday the Democrats finally succeeded in getting a quorum of themselves together, and straightway passed the obnoxious resolution by a vote of 145 to 2, the Republicans not even deigning to touch the dirty thing enough to record themselves in the negative. They have, however, united in an address to the country.

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